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AMERICA AND THE WAR

BY

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

A S P E E C H

DELIVERED AT

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Battle Hymn of the Republic.

By JULIA WARD HOWE.

Tune "*John Brown.*"

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of
wrath are stored;
He has loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift
sword;
His truth is marching on.

CHORUS.

Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
His truth is marching on.

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call
retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment
seat;
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant my feet!
Our God is marching on.

CHORUS.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me;
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make them
free,
While God is marching on.

CHORUS.

THE GREAT WAR.

SPEECH BY

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,

Carnegie Hall, New York, October 24th, 1914.

I KNOW that the people of America want to hear all sides of the question of the great war, and I am going to speak to you about the cause of the Allies, as a woman sees that cause.

To my mind the fact that dominates the whole situation is that we might have had, instead of this terrible war, a settlement by arbitration at the Hague Tribunal.

A very heavy responsibility falls upon those nations, Germany and Austria, who refused to agree to arbitration. Sometimes it is overlooked by those who discuss the war, that Servia asked for arbitration in the dispute between herself and Austria, and, although the Allied Nations readily agreed that arbitration should be resorted to, Austria and Germany refused to have arbitration.

Have you noticed in the White Paper issued by Germany, that the Imperial German Chancellor in his telegram to the German Ambassador in London said: "It is impossible for us to bring our Ally (Austria) before a European Court in its difference with Servia."

Now why was it impossible that Austria should appear with Servia before a European Court? Though Germany rejected the plan, Russia was willing to submit the whole question to a European Court, to submit it not only to France, not only to England, not only to Italy, but also to Germany, these four Powers acting together as a Court.

Will not Submit to Arbitration.

One or two Americans have said to me since I came here: "Your country, Great Britain, did wrong because she did not call out for arbitration instead of answering Germany's challenge by making war." I say in reply that my country did call out for arbitration. But it is evident that arbitration is futile, and the Hague Tribunal is powerless, if a big country is going to say, as Austria and Germany have said, that because it has a quarrel with a country which is small it will not submit to arbitration.

The meaning of that attitude is that the big country thinks: "I do not want to abide by the rules of international law; I do not want to abide by what is fair and right and just as between myself and my smaller neighbours. On the contrary I want to have the advantage of my greater brute force, and if I arbitrate this question I shall not have that advantage."

Very well then, keep that fact in your mind: That Servia wanted arbitration, and the Allies wanted arbitration, and that Austria and Germany would not have it. In that fact you have the reason of the terrible war that is devastating Europe at the present time.

Austria tells us that Servia was a tiresome neighbour and indulged in a form of activity known as Pan-Servian agitation. Now there is such a thing as Pan-Germanism, and in the British Empire there has been in progress what one can only call a Pan-German agitation. But we have not feared it, and we have had no reason to fear it, because the people living under the British flag are glad and proud and content to live under that flag, and they want to live under no other.

But the matter with Austria is that she is ruling millions of people who do not want to live under her flag, and that is the reason why she is afraid of the Pan-Servian agitation.

And, Ladies and Gentlemen, what my country is fighting for is that the people shall live under the flag they love best, and shall be governed according to their own consent, and not by alien Powers.

When war broke out and a few of our own people who had not been following foreign affairs, and were naturally distressed that they should be plunged into war, said: "Who is this Servia; what is this country that we and those of the other Allied Nations too, should have to shed their blood?" But when these people looked further into the question they saw that, after all, Servia is a country whose position can at many points be compared to that of Italy when she was fighting for her independence. And, whatever Servia's faults may have been in the past, I can tell you that the British people are deeply stirred by the sight of that small country fighting for her independence, fighting for her position among the nations, and making sacrifices in doing so which are almost unimaginable to the people of a nation such as this, who at the present time are living in safety far away from the scene of war.

I say again that no Power need fear the agitation among its subjects of an alien Power, if those subjects are being governed with their consent, and if those subjects thus are kept in a state of contentment.

To Fight Us One by One.

Now, it is impossible, when you speak of this war, to do so without speaking of Germany; and I want to tell you of the points that occur to me in connection with Germany's position. I have read those famous Nickie-Willie-Georgie telegrams, issued by Germany, under the interesting heading of "How the Franco-German Conflict Could Have Been Avoided." Ladies and Gentlemen, we are concerned not only with a Franco-German conflict, but with a conflict in which other nations besides those two are engaged, and the impression which these telegrams

and other circumstances make upon my mind, is this: That Germany wanted to divide and conquer separately the Allied Nations—that she did not want to fight us all at once; but wanted to fight us one by one, and one after another.

We have all been making a great study of German political and military literature of late. The bookshops are simply flooded with translations of interesting German works. Perhaps it would have been better for England if she had read those books more industriously before the war broke out, for then we might have been wise before instead of after the event. But now and at last we know from these books, and in other ways, that Germany, ruled as she is to-day, under a system of Kaiserdom and military autocracy, has adopted as her national religion the theory that might is right, and that nations have no rights and no justification for existence unless they can enforce them by their armed power. That is a theory which the United States, I believe, absolutely repudiates. It is a theory which I am proud to say my country has no use for either. It is a theory against which we are fighting in this present war.

Again I would draw your attention to the fact that we wanted arbitration, but our enemies would not have it.

Now, I am a militant. That is not to say that I prefer war to peace; but it is to say that when people want to govern me by physical force and not by the moral force of justice, then I am prepared to defy their physical force to the very death. When we are faced by a country that wishes to impose its rule upon other parts of the world by physical force, and therefore makes an attack upon us, we, the nations who are thus attacked, are bound to choose between two alternatives—we must either surrender or we must fight. Ladies and Gentlemen, in international conflicts it is not the most highly evolved nation that has the choice of weapons. And so when a nation which is still in the backward stage of preferring violence to peace, attacks a peaceful and more advanced nation with violence, then that nation must either hit back or go under—and we are not disposed to go under.

Germany to-day is telling us through the pens of some of your German professors over here that Germany only wants to be left alone. But that is all we wanted—to leave her alone, and be left alone ourselves. But what are you to believe? Sometimes German spokesmen tell you they want to be left alone, and sometimes they say they are determined not to let anybody else alone. They would do better, perhaps, to tell the same story from first to last.

Brewing for Years.

We have heard so many different interpretations of German policy, and as commonsense people we are choosing our own interpretation and we are looking under the words, different every day, to the actual facts of the situation. And if you want to find the truth of the matter do not refer only to the words that are used at the thirteenth hour, but take the studied and considered declarations of policy which are to be read, for example, in Prince von Bulow's "Imperial Germany." As a proof that German policy is one of hostility to the British people, take Prince von

Bulow's statement in his book that Germany would have attacked us at the time of the South African war, except for the one reason that she did not yet feel herself so strong that she could be sure of victory. Now what does that mean? It means, as our Prime Minister says—and he is right, sometimes, not always—this great war has been brewing for years—indeed for a generation. The doubtful question was not whether it was going to come, but whether it would come in such a way that the Allied Nations were to be struck and defeated one by one, or whether it should come finding these Allied Nations standing shoulder to shoulder, determined unitedly to resist this aggression.

Though we are sometimes told that Germany wants to be left alone, we are also told that she means to expand at her neighbours' expense. One reason given for this is that other countries are played out, weak, degenerate, effeminate, done for; that only Germany is left with any life in her. And the United States, too, just at present, though I don't know how long that will last! There are but two nations fit to exist—Germany and the United States. How flattered you Americans must be to be in such company! Well, we are showing now, I think, we British people, and I claim that the French people are showing, and I claim above all that the Belgian people are showing that we are not played out. Our magnanimity has in the past perhaps been mistaken for weakness by the enemy. Our love of peace—and we are not ashamed to own we wanted peace—has been despised by the enemy. But now we are showing that we are capable of war when war is necessary for the sake of our national freedom, for the sake of the existence of our friends, and for the sake of certain great principles.

Fighting for Democratic Government.

I maintain that we are fighting for democratic government. We are fighting for the right of the different peoples of the world to govern themselves. And I maintain that the victory of the Allies will, as a matter of fact, be a victory for the German people themselves.

To prove this, here are some little extracts from utterances by the German Kaiser. These extracts throw a vivid light upon his ideal of government. One of his sayings is this: "Unbelief and discontent are becoming more prominent than ever in Germany, and the day may come, my German soldiers, though God preserve us from it, when it may be necessary for you to fire upon your own parents, or your own brethren; on that day test your fidelity by sacrificing your blood." Then he says to his soldiers again: "You wear the Emperor's uniform; you have thereby been given a preference over other men." Is that what you believe in here, that the soldiers are to be given preference over civilians; that the military uniform is to be something far more glorious and powerful than the dress of the civilian who is promoting the economic interests of the country? That at any rate is not what we believe in the land from which I come.

Then the Kaiser says—and here is the crux of the whole question: "It is the soldier, it is the Army, not parliamentary votes, that have welded the German Empire together. My confidence rests upon the Army." Now there is militarism naked and unashamed, and it is the evil institution of militarism which we are really fighting, we Allies, in this great European War.

Democracy and Peace.

We believe that it is in democratically governed countries that the love of peace is strongest, and the desire towards peace can get practical expression. Do not imagine that we have got all the democracy we want, even in England. We must have the women of our own and of all nations enfranchised. Because then the policy of peace will be understood and will be carried into real effect. When the women of the world are enfranchised, then indeed we may hope to see the reign of universal peace.

But so long as you have one nation which, like Germany, boasts that it is a male nation, a country in which the counsels of women emphatically do not prevail, then you will have the peace-loving nations always on the defensive, always compelled to be arming and preparing to meet the armed aggression of that too much man-governed country in which women are not free.

The German apologists appeal to our sympathy, because they say they have so great a birth-rate and their population is expanding. Have they forgotten that the Slav birth-rate is greater still? Are they going to maintain that a high birth-rate is the final test of a nation's position in the world? We cannot be bullied by birth-rates. After all, quality, human quality, is just as important as—it is more important than mere quantity.

And then there is this other ridiculous argument—ridiculous if the use of it were not bringing about such tragic results—that German culture—the only kind of culture they pretend—must spread all over the world. Ladies and Gentlemen, I have yet to learn that culture can be imposed by brute force. We do not want an exclusive German culture any more than we want an exclusively British culture. We want all the different nations of the world to make their contribution to human culture. Indeed, we shall be sorely tempted by the time this war is over to erase that word "culture" from the dictionary, and find some other to do service in its stead.

What of Russia?

"Well," you may ask, "but what of Russia? You talk of German autocracy; what of Russia? You talk of a Teutonic menace; what of the Slavonic menace?" Now, let us take one thing at a time. You know the old, old method of paralysing you by fear of a more remote danger, in order that you may fall a prey to the immediate danger. You are put in fear of the enemy that is far away so that you may be the more easily conquered by the enemy who is already forcing his way inside your gates. They tell us there is a Slavonic menace. That may or may not be true, but we have got to deal with the Teutonic menace first.

We will not allow a German wave to spread all over the world, because that would be a bad thing for humanity. The world will not tolerate a German tyranny any more than it tolerated a Napoleonic tyranny, and, just as it would not and will not tolerate those tyrannies, it will not tolerate a Russian tyranny either. I believe that the forces

of civilisation, the forces of progress, the forces of justice, if they are united in a common fight, are strong enough now, and always will be strong enough, to prevent such disaster as would occur if Germany were now to win, and to prevent such disaster as would occur if Russia should desire to and should succeed in dominating the rest of the earth. God does not mean such a thing to happen, and it never will.

But you know what they say in Russia, the revolutionaries who have suffered in fighting for freedom within their own land. They say that the Russian autocracy is very largely a Prussian institution. They say that their domestic trouble, their difficulty in getting representative government, is another of the things that have been "made in Germany." They rejoice that the German, the Prussian, influence in their country is to be less, and they believe that their prospects of constitutional freedom will be far brighter when this war is over than they have been in the past.

I put my faith not in Czars or Kaisers; I put my faith in the spirit of the peoples. And I believe that in the Russian people there lives a spirit of rebellion against injustice, a willingness to live and serve and, if necessary, to die for freedom, that at the present day is, perhaps, more effective, more highly tuned, than it is in any other country in the world—unless you speak of the militant Suffragettes in Great Britain. Remember this about Russia! Remember not only that the spirit of her people is the guarantee of her advancing civilization; but that, even in time past, the Russian Government did what no other Government has ever done—abolished serfdom by one single stroke of the pen. That instantaneous freeing of the serfs was an achievement which should stand to Russia's credit. Then I want to remind you of the very extraordinary action, the very courageous action if you like to call it so, of the Russian Government in abolishing the sale of vodka during the war, and in announcing that the Government manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor shall now and for ever come to an end.

In art and literature do we not find a very wonderful inspiration coming from Russia? I speak of this because we have heard so much of German culture that it is well to remember that there is culture in the true sense of the term, that there is artistic development, in a country which has been stigmatized by the German professors as barbarous.

Britain Fighting for her own National Existence.

And now, some words about my own country. You must not suppose that because the Suffragettes fight the British Government for the sake of the vote, and because we have refused to allow the Government to crush our movement by imprisonment and by torture, you must not suppose that on that account the Suffragettes are not patriotic. Good heaven! Why should we fight for British citizenship if we do not most highly prize it?

Our view is that the very foundations of our movement for women's freedom are threatened. Our view is that if our country does not win,

the value of British citizenship, if it is not absolutely destroyed, will be very much decreased. We want to see the strength of our country maintained, because we believe that that strength is more and more going to be used for the good of the whole world. Our country has made mistakes in the past—or, rather, the men have done so who governed the country. But we are going to do better in the future—above all, when British women co-operate with the men in the important work of government. What we Suffragettes aspire to be when we are enfranchised is ambassadors of freedom to women in other parts of the world, who are not so free as we are.

Britain is fighting for her own national existence. Britain is fighting for the existence of friendly nations who are as dear to us almost as our own country is, and Britain is fighting for great principles of freedom and self-government.

Helping in the Common Fight.

One of the greatest signs that Britain is in the right is afforded by the way in which the people of all the different parts of our Empire have come forward to help in the common fight.

The enemy thought that we should get no help from India, no help from Canada, no help from Africa, no help from Ireland, and no help from anywhere. On the contrary we were, they believed, going to be so crippled by disorders and rebellions arising in every part of the British Empire that we should not be able to strike a blow for our national and imperial freedom and for the safety of our friends. How differently everything has turned out, has it not? Can you not understand that I say with pride this afternoon: I am a British citizen?

The only qualification to the pride and joy with which I utter those words is this: The politicians have not yet had the good sense to acknowledge our citizenship, our women's citizenship, by Act of Parliament. But do you suppose that it is going to be so easy when this war is over to refuse to acknowledge the rights and duties of British women where the work of fulfilling national and Empire responsibility is concerned? We do not believe that we shall remain disfranchised at the end of this war; and let me add, as a postscript, that if they try to keep us still disfranchised we shall resume the fight that we were making when the war began.

Yes, some of you may have said to yourselves: "Why are these Suffragettes now fighting for the Government that they have opposed so long?" My friends, we are fighting for our country, fighting for ourselves as well as our country. We are fighting not only for ourselves and our women's right of citizenship, now threatened by German militarism, we are fighting for future generations, for whose liberty, for whose freedom from the aggression of the invader and the enemy we are responsible

Britain's Unreadiness Proof of Goodwill.

People have said to me here in America: "Why were not you British ready? How is it you were not stronger? You must have known Germany was going to attack you; you must have known you had a war in front of you. Why is it only now that you are forming

your new army? Why were you not ready to give a greater support to the French and to the Belgians? Why were you able to send so few men over to France? Why are those new soldiers only being now enrolled and trained when their services are so urgently needed on the battlefield at the present time?" Well, that very accusation of unreadiness is a proof of how little we thought of being aggressive, how little we wished to fight Germany.

It is perfectly true that we were not prepared. You are absolutely right when you say that we were not. Some of us think that the British Government would have been better employed in preparing to defend the country against the German enemy than in fighting so hard against the Suffragettes. If, instead of searching our Suffragette literature for alleged illegalities, the British Government had been reading more carefully the enlightening works of General von Bernhardi; if, instead of watching the offices of the W.S.P.U., they had paid more attention to spies and to the fortresses disguised as factories which Germany was erecting in our midst; if, instead of torturing British women, they had been attending to preparations for national defence, perhaps this war might have been less long drawn out and tragic than it is.

Great Britain's Conscience Clear.

Again, I say the very unpreparedness which you criticise, you American men, is the sign of our good faith in regard to Germany, is the sign of our desire to remain at peace with her. I tell you this: that even when war broke out it was difficult to persuade many of our people that we were in danger, so convinced had they always been that Germany meant well to them, so convinced were they that they meant well to Germany. We have not been over-suspicious of Germany; we have rather been under-watchful. Great Britain's conscience in this war is clear.

After all, what have we to gain by this war; what have we to gain, I ask you? We have to gain justice for the small nations. We have the freedom of Belgium to re-conquer, we have to preserve the independence and safety of France. We have to gain the removal of a military menace which has burdened our tax-payers and toilers, which has burdened the tax-payers and toilers of other European countries, which is burdening the tax-payers and toilers even of the United States. We have to gain the driving back of the Kaiser and of tyranny.

That is all we have to gain. Do you think we ought to have had to fight to gain it? I do not. What have we to look forward to? We have to look forward to victory for our friends, and safety and victory for ourselves; but we also have to look forward to hard times—hard times for everybody. Rich as well as poor realize what this war is going to cost us. They realize that the simple life for many hitherto prosperous will have to become a reality and not merely a dream. Already our poor are suffering incalculably from this war. Our soldiers are dying in thousands—poor and rich, men of all classes are dying side by side on the field of battle. And our women at home are bereft of those dear to them.

That is what we have gone to war about. That is all we stand to gain. We are on the defensive in this war if ever a nation was.

And now a word about France. The hearts of some of us are very full when we think of that great country. You Americans, how much you owe to her! They talk of civilization. They talk of culture. What is the home of civilization? What is the home of culture? What is the stronghold of these great ideals that are dear to all of us? I maintain—and as a citizen of one great nation talking to the citizens of another, I can freely say to you—without jealousy I can say it—that in some senses France is the greatest and most glorious nation in the world.

I was in France when the war broke out. Many of you were there too. And I think you will bear me out in saying that there was to be seen no jingoism, no spirit of aggression. I was in Paris at that time, and I felt the hush that came over the city. It was like the stillness, it was like the dreadful stillness that precedes a great storm. Those people knew what was coming. They knew the price they had to pay. They were ready to pay it, too, but they did not meet the danger with any foolish bravado. They did not meet it in any desire to crush other nations. They simply said, "Our country, our motherland, is threatened. We must defend our country against the military giant who is advancing to overthrow us." I, an English woman, was there during those fateful days in which we did not know whether or not England would enter into the war. Over and over again, hundreds and hundreds of times, I was asked by strangers, by all sorts and conditions of French people, "Will England fight? Will England help us?" And I could only say, "I do not know. I hope she will." It was an anxious time for those who were English, but at last the news came that England would fight. And England is fighting.

France the Stronghold of Great Ideals.

Yes, what is this France? The land of ideas, the land of ideals, the very abiding place of the spirit of freedom. And I say that if we British people, or if you American people, should let France be crushed as the Germans intend to crush her, then we shall be punished, we British will be punished; you Americans will be punished too. Americans! If you let that country be destroyed which has given gifts so great to you and other lands, retribution will come upon you—freedom will desert this world. Be sure of that!

Well, what of Belgium? What of Belgium—that great little country? That little, gallant country which has shown us larger nations wherein true greatness consists. The crown of glory that Belgium is winning now is one which we big nations might be very, very proud to wear ourselves. Does it not show how foolish is the measurement which Germany applies to national greatness! If you are many, say the Germans, then you are great; if you are physically strong, then you are great! But Belgium teaches us that greatness has nothing to do with numbers. Greatness has nothing to do with size. It has nothing to do with military force. Greatness resides in the soul.

This is an age in which materialism has made enormous strides. Perhaps this war has come to punish us for our materialism. Perhaps this war has come to punish us for the adoption of false standards. Surely the action of Belgium has a great lesson for us, and I hope and I pray that everyone of us is learning that lesson.

Belgium the Suffragette Nation.

I tell you what we call Belgium; we call it the Suffragette country. Belgium did not ask, and does not ask, "Am I strong enough; is my enemy stronger than I; is there any hope of winning by physical resistance?" Belgium has said, "A Colossus is determined to ride over and destroy us, but we will stand up in defiance, and, though we be trampled into the soil we love so that no one of us—man, woman, nor child—is left living, still we will defy and still we will resist." I maintain, and I know—and you know it, too—that the whole Belgian people has shown itself most glorious. There is that King who is showing himself a King indeed. There is the Belgian Army, conscious of the huge forces by which it was opposed, and yet fighting with unsurpassed heroism. And then there are the people, and above all there are the women of Belgium, who have seen their homes burned over their heads by the enemy, and, what is perhaps even harder, have themselves burned down those homes, with all the saving and with all the toil they represent, in order that their country may better be defended by the Belgian Army. It is one of the most wonderful things that history knows, this stand which the Belgian people have made. The Belgian Government, from their French exile, are justified in saying, "Our beloved country, so odiously betrayed and treated by one of the Powers who had solemnly promised to guarantee her neutrality, has excited the admiration of the world. Thanks to the union, the sagacity and courage of her children, she will remain worthy of this admiration which sustains her to-day. To-morrow she will emerge from her trials greater and more beautiful, having suffered for justice and for the honour of civilisation." Is there one here, whatever his race, who will deny that those words are absolutely justified by the facts? We are told that Belgium is now a part of the German Empire. She will never be a part of the German Empire, while her soul remains free and while her friends have power to fight with and for her.

"Long Live Free and Independent Belgium."

Says the Belgian Government again, "Long live free and independent Belgium." And we here say it, too. And my country has pledged itself, pledged itself not only by a scrap of paper, but pledged itself by its very life's blood, to fight until the independence and freedom of Belgium have been re-established for all time.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Belgium, when she was neutralised, was taken under the guardianship of the stronger nations of Europe. My country is one of the guardians of Belgium. She is our ward. We are trustees for her. Better that they should rob us than that they should rob this child for whom we are trustees. It is not merely a question of a scrap of paper; it is all that the scrap of paper represents. When the Germans entered Belgium they called the whole British people to arms. We cannot disgrace ourselves in the eyes of those who come after us by betraying Belgium, as we should have if we had not sprung to her aid when she called upon us. If we were fighting for Belgium alone we should be fighting a war that is just and necessary, a war that we could not have kept out of without dishonouring ourselves for ever, both in this world and in the next.

Now something about America! Everybody is asking your opinion, and with the most open mind you are asking everybody to tell his side of the case. You have not yet pronounced judgment. Perhaps you will before very long. Already many of you have, as individuals, formed your opinion as to this struggle, although as a nation you have not declared which of the contending parties you think in the right.

But there is another great neutral Power which has pronounced an opinion, which has proclaimed which side is the aggressor and which side is on the defensive. That great neutral Power is Italy. Italy was pledged and was prepared to fight with Germany and Austria if Germany and Austria were fighting in self-defence; but Italy is not taking part in this war, and is not helping Austria and Germany, because she knows and says that Austria and Germany are not defending themselves. They are attacking other people. Italy says, in other words: "My former Allies are in the wrong. They have taken the offensive, they are the aggressors. The people they are attacking, the Allies, are fighting on the defensive." That is a very important judgment; a very important decision on the part of Italy. I think it is a decision which should have very great weight in America—should have very great weight all over the world.

Allies Fighting for America.

I want to make this claim: that we, the British, are fighting not only for our Allies; we are also fighting for you. Germany is hacking her way through. Get hold of that expression. It is not mine, it is their's. The Germans are hacking their way through. The hacking began on Belgium. Germany hacked her way through Belgium to France. She is hacking her way through France to Britain—if she can get there. When she has hacked her way through Belgium, when she has hacked her way through France, when she has hacked her way through Britain, she will hack her way to you. Some of you, perhaps, do not think so. I know what it is. You think the Kaiser has a special partiality for America. Now, why should he love America any more than Great Britain? Can you see why he should? Don't you flatter yourself. You are extremely nice people, but you are no nicer than we are.

Do not forget that point: that there is no difference between you and Great Britain from the German point of view. Why should there be?

Now, this is not the first war in the history of the world. There was the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. In that war Britain was neutral, and because she was neutral Germany was able to defeat France. Germany imposed upon France terms which the Germans tell us enabled them to attain to their present military might. The seeds of the present war were sown in 1870. We English are paying now the price of our neutrality in 1870. Neutrality in those days seemed simple, very just, very easy, very wise, but because we were neutral in 1870 and because we let France be defeated, (the Germans say that they are very sorry they did not crush her far more completely, but that they are going to do it this time), because she was crushed in 1870 to the extent she was, we are in the midst of this horrible and devastating war to-day.

Take warning by our fate, and remember how much this war is costing us, although we are not obliged to face Germany single-handed, but have fighting beside us very strong and gallant allies, and even so it is a bitter and terrible business. Do not forget that point, Americans ! It is a point that should be kept in your minds night and day in this crisis in our and your fortune.

I contend that we are not only fighting for your material interests and your national safety ; we are fighting also for your ideals, for the principles of self-government and freedom that you, the American people, have made your own.

An Identity of Purpose—A Community of Ideals.

I am not appealing to-day to any kinship between England and America. It is true that they were English folk that set out in the "Mayflower" and founded this great nation. It is true that many, many here own English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh descent ; but I know, too, that you have many other nationalities under your flag. You have people who come from all ends of the earth to unite with you as the great American people. Therefore, my word as to what we are doing for you in this war has nothing really to do with a common ancestry. It has to do with an identity of purpose, with a community of ideals, and that is why I say we are fighting and sacrificing for a cause which is yours just as much as it is our own.

One or two points are being made by certain peace advocates—they cannot love peace more than I do. You say Britain should have agreed to arbitration. I have dealt with that. We wanted to, but the other side would not have it. They chose the arbitrament of the gun. They chose the settlement of bloodshed.

Some people are tempted to say that all war is wrong, and that both sides to every war must be in the wrong. I challenge that statement and deny it utterly, absolutely, and with all the power I have at my disposal. All wars are not wrong. Was your war against a British Government wrong ? As an English woman, I say that when you fought us for the principle of freedom, for the right of self-government, you did right. I am glad you fought us and I am glad you beat us. I think you taught us a lesson about governing that has cemented our Empire and is its strength to-day. We lost you, but we gained so much else. I am glad, I say, that you fought us. You were in the right ; we were in the wrong. We were as much in the wrong in that war as Germany is in the wrong to-day.

Are you going to tell me that Italy was in the wrong when she fought for her national unity and independence. A thousand and a million times, no ! Italy was in the right, and let us be thankful for the sake of the world, for the sake of justice, for the sake of everything that is beautiful, let us be thankful that Italy did fight. Had she not done so, she would have shown herself less than a nation. The Italian people would have shown themselves less than human had they not fought against an alien rule. Therefore, you can have a just war as well as an unjust war. You can have nations in the right as well as nations in the wrong.

Then, you will say, that what we want is a federated Europe, or rather a federated world—bringing in the United States. That is a glorious ideal, a federated world, war driven out and peace reigning in the stead of war. But let us be practical, and let us not be blind when what we want is actually within the reach of our hand. Can you not see that the Allied Nations now engaged in the war may well be the nucleus of a federated world?

You talk of an international police force which is required to make rebellious and law-breaking nations come into line with reasonable nations. I maintain that the Allied Armies are performing that police duty in the world to-day.

We must not only talk of our ideals; we must, when those ideals are being carried into practice, be quick to recognize that fact. An Allied world! Why, there we have it coming into being. France and England friends, I hope, for ever. Belgium, Russia, Servia, Japan, Portugal! Italy, let us hope, very soon. The United States, it may be. Why, you have not got so very many nations left outside if you add up all the nations now living together in friendship. As soon as we get a wiser Germany, she too will be admitted to the sisterhood of the nations.

That is what we, the Allies, are fighting for; we are fighting for the end of war.

When Peace Comes.

And when at the close of the present struggle, peace comes, we want to have such terms made as shall eliminate grounds for future quarrel between nations. And one of the greatest causes of unrest in the world is the attempt by one nation to govern another.

“Ah,” you say, “but you are laying too much stress on this question of nationality; what we want is internationality, rather than nationality. My friends, you cannot have internationality unless you have nationality upon which to build it. Do you know the very wise, the very great, words written by Mazzini? Turn to his book, “The Duties of Man,” and you will see that while he speaks of the good of humanity being the highest earthly aim of the people of the world, yet he explains that love of country is the right preparation for love of humanity as a whole. He says: “What can each of you do with your isolated powers for the common improvement, for the progress of humanity? Divided as you are in language, tendencies, numbers and capacities, you cannot attempt this common work. The individual is too weak, humanity too vast. But, God gave you the means you want when He gave you a country. Like a wise overseer who distributes the different parts of the work according to the capacity of the workman, he divided humanity into distinct groups upon the face of the globe, and thus planted the seeds of nations.”

“The Map of Europe will be Re-made.”

And then he says: “Bad governments have disfigured the design of God.” And again in a great prophecy which the Allies are trying to fulfil he says: “But the Divine design will infallibly be fulfilled. The map of Europe will be re-made.”

We Allies are trying to re-make it on better lines than now. We are trying to maintain all those lines that we think God has drawn upon that map, and we are trying to wipe out those lines which we believe have been made by bad governments. Then as Mazzini says: "The countries of the people will rise, defined by the voice of the free, upon the ruins of the countries of kings and privileged castes. Between these countries there will be harmony and brotherhood. We must not beguile ourselves by hopes of emancipation if we do not first have our country. Where there is no country there is no agreement to which you can appeal."

Mazzini and Patriotism.

All through Mazzini lays stress upon this great ideal of patriotism, of love of country, as a means, as a step to love of other countries.

We cannot love other countries, we cannot understand them unless we first understand and love our own country. Some people seem to think that patriotism is out of date. I do not believe that. It is true we do not want a selfish patriotism. We do not want a greedy patriotism. We want a wise and great hearted patriotism. We must agree with Mazzini when he says: "Your country is the token of the mission which God has given you to fulfil to humanity." Remember that, you who think you are above feeling love for your country. "Your country is the token of the mission which God has given to you to fulfil to humanity." "Your country," he says, "should be your temple, God at the summit, a people of equals at the base." Not a Kaiser at the summit, not a Hohenzollern at the summit, but God at the summit, and the people—men and women—equals at the base. "A country," we are told again, "is not a mere territory; the particular territory is only its foundation. The country is the idea which rises on that foundation. It is the sentiment of love, the sentiment of fellowship, which binds together all the sons and daughters of that territory."

Yes, men and women, do you not feel this—that a country has a soul, a country is something greater and more magnificent than the individuals who compose it?

And that is why, although there is a terrible carnage going on, although thousands of lives have been and are being lost, we yet feel that through the loss of those lives the very soul of nations is being preserved.

And now I want, as my final point, to speak of the position of women with regard to this war.

First I will tell you, very briefly, about our position as militants at home. Time of war for our country is time of peace for us. We have realised it to be our duty to fall into line with our nation if only for the sake of the very citizen rights for which we have been fighting and suffering during several years gone by. We are, I may tell you, finding out anew how desperately the vote is needed by women. Ah, if we had only had the vote now we could have done so much more to help! For the difficulties created within our midst by war are so great that private effort cannot cope with them. Only the State can do that, and if we had the vote, we could remind the Government so much more

effectively that women must be looked after as well as men. It is all very well to knit socks, to take in one or two people in need, it is all very well to start workshops for the unemployed. Such action is good and generous, but it is not enough to meet the enormous problem with which we are faced. We want the Government to take up the cause of our starving women at home, the unemployed women, and to organize help and finance help for them. The prime duty of the private citizen is to pay his or her war taxes in order that the Government may have ample resources to be administered for the benefit of the most needy of our population. That is our position. It is a commonsense, practical position. It is a policy which will have in the end to be adopted by the State.

To Rouse the Spirit of the People.

One other great task that we have undertaken at home is to help to rouse the spirit of the people—not that it needs so very much rousing when the country is in danger. That threat of a Zeppelin attack—why, that makes us more determined to fight than before. The British soldier, we are told, is not easily impressed or depressed. Neither is the British public as a whole. After all, our soldiers are dying at the front, and the civilians are not afraid to die at home by bombs thrown from Zeppelins if they have to die so. Just a word interspersed here to the American people. I know you will not be too susceptible about questions of contraband. For example, every drop of oil that reaches Germany adds to the length of this war. That oil may be used to fly the Zeppelins that are intended to destroy non-combatant citizens of London. I know you will do the right and fair thing throughout. I know you will understand that our country is without the faintest desire to do you an injustice, and that if we should ever do an injustice we are always ready to undo it.

And now further, as to the woman's position in this war. It is the duty of women as much as it is the duty of men to search out the moral principles at stake in this conflict. It is very easy to say: "All war is wrong; I wash my hands of it." How can you wash your hands of war when there are great moral issues, great principles at stake? No, my friends, it would be a comfortable thing for us to say that we have nothing to do with this war, and it would be an easy thing not to apply our minds and judgments to the facts of the war, but as responsible human beings we cannot do that. After all, if we women had the vote, then we should have to make up our mind on questions of international relationships—and I speak as one who considers herself practically a voter already. As for you women of New York State, you are going to be voters twelve months from now. So you may as well get ready to fulfil your international responsibilities.

Germany a Male Nation.

Now there is something very important in this question of the war from the woman's point of view. What if Germany wins? She won't, but if she did; that would mean a disastrous blow to the women's movement both in Germany and every other country.

Bismarck boasted that Germany is a male nation. We do not want male nations. "Male and female created He them!" A nation exclusively dominated by the male and by the ideas of the male, is a nation governed unnaturally; is a nation which cannot walk straight; is a nation which is bound to go wrong. The more you have the man's and woman's point of view balanced, the more sane will be the nation, the more just and wise will be the nation. Therefore we will not allow a male nation to dominate the earth.

Treitschke and Women.

Here is a very significant quotation from Treitschke, whom the Germans call the great historian. Speaking of England, he said: "The world stood helpless before the woman's question which had been unknown to a simpler generation. Women with the knowledge of amateurs pushed themselves into men's professions."

Who gave them to men? Who said they were men's professions? "And, just as in the days of moral decay, in classical antiquity, so now the doctrine of the emancipation of women arose from the slime of those decays." There is a man looked upon as one of the faith-givers, the gospel-givers of Germany, and that is his view of women. When he talks of classical antiquity and the attempts of women to share control of the world's affairs, this thought comes to my mind: The empires of the past have fallen mainly because they were exclusively man ruled and therefore ruled contrary to the Divine Law. And when those nations have been near their fall and the women have come forward and asked: "Include us in your citizenship, let us help towards the regeneration of our country," the men have been too unwise to say yes; they have rejected their last chance of continued national existence. That is what Treitschke ought to say. But that is what he does not say.

It is the Women to whom we Look.

Now, I will throughout base my contention that German influence as it exists at present, is contrary to women's advancement upon the sayings of men. A representative Englishman who has travelled in many countries, and has lived in Germany, Mr. Cloudesley Brereton, has written a book, "Armageddon and After—Who is Responsible?" He writes: "It is the women to whom we look in the future as one of the greatest forces looking for peace. Germany is the standing warning of the dangers of a too-exclusively man-made civilization. Superficially we are fighting to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and to protect the French coast. The real issues at stake are national existence, liberty, democracy, international law, and the creation of an international court of appeal for the united or allied States of Europe." And further he says: "From one point of view Germany is an example of an almost exclusively man-made State, German wives and mothers are among the finest in the world, but their influence until recently has been almost entirely confined to 'children, kitchen and church,' to quote the Kaiser's phrase. They have been unduly subordinated to the men, so that the especially female and Christian virtues have not had their proper place on the official list of national virtues. Their task has been to prepare the raw materials, but it is the man in the control of the machine who moulds it in the school, the army, and by a thousand other subtle means, and naturally they exaggerated its masculine, and

one had almost written its brutal, tendencies. It is not for nothing that Bismarck said of Germany, it is a male nation. Women are going to count more and more in the world, and if we win in this war, the peace of the world for the next hundred years will largely rest with the women."

Women! we have a great work to do now and hereafter. First, we must uphold the right side in this war. I have heard it said that women of all nations must concentrate upon pleading for Germany when the war ends. But I maintain that it is not women's business to stand in the light of a fair and just settlement when this war is over. Nobody wants to give Germany less than fair play, but what we must also ensure is that the nations attacked by Germany get fair play. The German people who have not self-government, as we look at it, must get fair play. Do not ask our indulgence for the militarists who have brought ruin, misery, disease, death upon the world. Ask our tenderest thought or heartiest sympathy for those who have been unjustly assailed.

American Women! Hold Hands with us of Britain.

Yes, this is a war for peace, and let us hope that peace will never need to have war fought for its sake any more in the future. Women! our responsibilities at this time in the world's history are enormous. When this war is over we, as enfranchised citizens, must hold the nations of the world together in friendship. We must prevent the growth of fresh antagonisms. I believe the American and British women have especially a great part to play. American women! hold hands with us of Britain. Let us keep our two countries in union so close that nothing can ever divide us. There must be so strong a link that no power in the world can break it.

Remember there is the Eastern question. It has to be faced, and women have to face it. We must not only use the power of the heart, we must not bring only sentiment to bear on the situation, we must bring our woman's common sense, we must bring our judgment, we must bring our balanced mind. We must be prepared to say to the men, "That is right; that is wrong." After all, they admit that we have a keener intuition, a stronger conviction on matters of right and wrong, on matters of morality, than they have themselves. If that is true, how heavy our burden of responsibility! Men! we do not look upon citizenship as a privilege, a right, so much as we look upon it as a duty, a responsibility. We know that we must be strong to bear such a burden. We know that we are undertaking no little task; and yet the world needs that we shall undertake it.

Oh, women, work from now onwards with might and main so that you may have the power to guarantee the peace of the world! This is a great mission. It means that we must cast aside some things that are frivolous, some things that are petty. We may not have so much time in the future for mere enjoyment, but we shall have a life which is a real life. For what are we put on this earth? To work for something bigger than ourselves, to work for humanity. We are not here simply to seek enjoyment and pleasure.

I tell you that the women who have taken up a public work, and feel their duty towards the world, are the happiest. And we want you to join forces with us. It is not easy. But did difficulty ever baffle a woman? And you will have strength; and inspiration given to you if you are prepared to make yourself an instrument for the bettering of the world.

And surely our most glorious task is this: To ensure the peace of the whole world for time everlasting.

SOME QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

QUESTION: What do you think about Japan?

MISS PANKHURST: I think that every nation has an equal right to exist with every other nation. I believe Japan has qualities of greatness. I know to what our friend is referring. She is referring to this same Eastern question which, as I have said, the United States and Great Britain and other countries must consider with all soberness and with all seriousness, in order that nothing shall be done which is not wise, fair and just to all the individual countries and to the world as a whole. We can no longer shirk those issues. We can no longer afford to drift. Every question as it arises, and before it becomes a great problem, should be dealt with upon principles of right, reason and justice.

And I would go further, and say we can afford to exclude no nation from the sisterhood of nations.

QUESTION: In view of your attack on militarism, what have you to say about the English Navy?

MISS PANKHURST: Our friend says what have I to say about the English Navy. I want to remind you that we are forty-five millions of people in a comparatively small space of territory. We cannot feed ourselves. Our Navy is not used for purposes of aggression; it is used for self-defence. I can say further—I should like to say further—that the English Navy is, I am proud to say, the policeman of the seas. We consider that the Navy is not only for the service of ourselves; it is at the service of other nations. But we read in Bernhardt's book that Germany wants to destroy our Navy; she wants to bring it down until it is so small that she could sweep it away. What a prospect for our forty-five millions at home! The British Navy is intended to harm nobody. It is there to insure that our people have bread to put into their mouths. I would say further that our Navy has not the position with us that the Army has in Germany. Our military and naval forces are kept in their proper places in relation to the civil authority. So long as you have one aggressive nation threatening other nations you must have an Army and Navy; but we cannot afford to be domineered over by the Army. They are no more militaristic at home than you Americans are—so you can judge from that. You, too, have a great Navy. Do you say you are a militaristic people on that account? No, you do not.

QUESTION: Does not the time call for and indicate a revival of the spirit and mission of Joan d'Arc, a world-wide scale and in the cosmopolitan spirit of justice, democracy, and brotherhood?

MISS PANKHURST: I suppose that means, shall not women come forward and fight. Well, the women are ready to do what it is in the best interests of their country they shall do. We English women, at any rate, will do what our country most needs of us. If we are needed to fight, we shall be ready for it. We are not afraid. But, as Mr. Lloyd George said—and he was right, too, for once—those who stay at home, those who suffer the agony of anxiety as to the fate of those dear to them, they are not playing the easiest part by any means. Think what it means to the wife and the mother to stay at home and know what the one who is dear to her is suffering at the front! The women are, indeed, the greatest sufferers in time of war. So it is not fear that holds us back; it is the interest of the nation which weighs with us. Our friend wants to know if England is prepared to do away with the causes of war. We hope to do away with some at least of the causes by the time peace is concluded. We hope when peace comes, it will come on a basis not of compromise with any sort of evil, but on the basis of clear justice which will enable the nations to be at peace and settle down to recover from the destruction which this war has brought. Those of you people who have criticised the Suffragettes for destroying property—well, don't talk again, that is all.

QUESTION: From your opinion do you think that the criticism that censorship of the British press is such that it does not let the news come through is just or not?

MISS PANKHURST: Well, of course this war came upon us suddenly and unexpectedly. Germany had the advantage of us in that respect. Machinery had to be created at an instant's notice, and of course the position was difficult. I believe our censorship made mistakes at first; I think it is better now. Then of course you must remember that the safety of our troops and the safety of our country is a dominant consideration. We want you to know everything we know ourselves. But we at home have to accept restricted news because the men responsible for seeing us through tell us that if news gets out prematurely their plans will be disordered and there will unnecessary loss of life.

QUESTION: Isn't it true that England is fighting Germany for commercial reasons, and Germany is fighting all nations for commercial reasons only?

MISS PANKHURST: I deny we are fighting Germany for commercial reasons. For Germany has made millions in our country. Look how Germans say their trade is expanding. It has expanded in Great Britain; that I know. Germany has been free to make money in the world at large, and especially in the British Isles.

QUESTION: How can you have any respect for a Government that has failed to meet the Suffrage question with any dignity?

MISS PANKHURST: I have told you we are not fighting for the Government; we are supporting our country. The Government is the instrument through which the war has got to be fought. It is not a question of Asquith or Lloyd George or McKenna; it is a

question of our country and of our citizenship, which we do not want to have destroyed before we have come into possession of it. Don't be afraid! We shall settle conclusions with our own Government. That is a domestic question. We are going to settle it all right. Don't you be afraid the Suffragettes have forgotten any of their former policy. They will put it into practice as long as necessary.

MISS PANKHURST: Here is a lady who asks as an Irishwoman, is it not hypocritical to find England fighting for justice for Belgium when Ireland lies bound at her door? But Ireland is not bound—a Home Rule Bill is on the Statute Book, the Irish men have a better position than I have, because they have a vote and I have not. They dominate our English House of Commons. They hold the balance of power in our Parliament, and have often done so. The question of whether all the British Isles shall be under one or two or three Parliaments is not the same as a German conquest of Belgium. Ireland has been harshly and cruelly treated in times past, but for years now she has had better treatment than some parts of our own country. It is not oppressing Irish Home Rule. But when the people of Ireland have the vote and hold the balance of power in the British House of Commons, you cannot talk as though they were in the same position as Belgium.

QUESTION: Is it not our President's wish for the interest of the country that at present America shall remain neutral?

MISS PANKHURST: My friends, the President does not wish to prevent people from saying what they think. At any rate, everybody *is* saying what they think, and I do not see why I should be an exception to the rule. If you were to let all the German professors here and all the German newspapers here say everything they liked for Germany, and then you would not let me say what I think for the Allies, would that be neutrality? I do not think it would. And, with the utmost fairness, kindness and generosity, you have given me a hearing this afternoon. I know what the President has said for yesterday and to-day. Who can say what it may be necessary, in the interests of the country and in the interests of the world and humanity of the future, for him to say to-morrow? At present we are winning without you, and we are going to win without you. But suppose that were not so, what then? Think it over!

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